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Why We Lack Aluminum—page 14

New Republic

A.N.C.

CORRUPTION AND CHIANG KAI-SHEK

The significant revelations of General Mao and Colonel Hsiang

McCARTHY ON TRIAL

Senator Benton's new case

JUGGLING JUDGESHIPS

by Harold L. Ickes

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Letters

Modern Poetry

● Upton Sinclair (*NR*, Sept. 24) is perfectly right in declaring that "modern" poets do not use line endings to coincide with syntactic units. The gorgeous architecture of a Shakespeare sonnet lies in the fact that the thought exactly matches the verse organization of three quatrains and a couplet. Yet Wordsworth's "Great God! I'd rather be / A Pagan" does not coincide with the change from octave to sestet. Is it therefore a blemish on the sonnet?

The "modern" poet tries to achieve a richness of effect by constructing a counterpoint between an expected sentence rhythm and the line rhythm. Williams' "they go round / and around" thus divided suggests (1) that they go round, (2) that they go round and around, (3) that, as in the picture, there is a broad regular rhythm, syncopated by minor eddies.

Actually, such devices are not "modern." Milton plays the expected iambic pentameter of *Paradise Lost* against the rhythm of his sentences. Is such a line as "Hail, holy Light, offspring of Heaven first-born!" regular? It isn't iambic pentameter (unless you mispronounce it), but in a context of iambic pentameter it is even more musical than it would be in a prose context.

At times Milton (e.g., *PL*, I, 506 ff.) might be written as Mr. Sinclair writes about W. C. Williams:

> though far renowned the Ionian gods—of Javan's issue held gods, yet confessed later than Heaven and Earth, their boasted parents; —Titan, Heaven's first-born, with his enormous brood, and birthright seized by younger Saturn; he from mightier Jove, his own and Rhea's son, like measure found; so Jove usurping reigned.

The "modern" poet is sometimes successful and sometimes not. Success depends upon the appropriateness of the device to the matter at hand. "Modern" poetry is not easy. No more is Milton. Rhythm, rhyme, melody, beauty, wisdom, sense—all these I am sure Mr. Sinclair could find in it if he were willing to read it with an open ear, an open heart and an open mind.

ALBERT HOWARD CARTER
University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, Ark.

● You say "Poets, speak up!" in regard to Upton Sinclair's attack on modern poetry (*NR*, Sept. 24). As one who has humbly practiced the great art of poetry for more than three decades, may I not therefore be permitted to shout, "Amen! A thousand times amen!" Mr. Sinclair is but one of thousands of intelligent readers who have first given up looking for rhyme and rhythm and then have ceased looking "for any melody, any beauty, any wisdom, and even any sense" in modern poetry. Like other readers, he has ceased looking for these qualities because they no longer exist in our so-called "advanced" verse. But he has put a finger on an index to the whole malodorous infection of modernism when he charges that, in their line endings, the apostles of "progress" disregard "the elemental rules of sentence structure, and the physical facts of human lungs and vocal chords." . . . The truth seems to be that line divisions after a "the" or an "an" or in the middle of a word serve no purpose but to halt the traffic in words and ideas. And I therefore thank the Muses for a man such as Upton Sinclair, who sincerely strives to get the traffic back on the tracks.

STANTON A. COBLENTZ
Mill Valley, Calif.

For Douglas or Black

● The *New Republic* has published letters of readers who earnestly and enthusiastically suggested the nomination of either Justice William O. Douglas and/or Justice Hugo Black, of the Supreme Court. It might be mentioned that they are statesmen of highest type and are not opposing candidates. Either man would be a credit to the US, re-establishing the high standing of our country among the nations of the world.

Hollywood, Calif. ANTONIA WILDER

Government by Pressure

● Catching up with the *NR* of August 27, I was deeply disturbed by Jo Mazur's critical comment (letter column) on "Government by Pressure." Coming as it does from Labor, it's all the more disturbing. Mr. Mazur seems to evolve the theory that progress of social and economic democracy lies in a constant race or drive between competing pressure forces. This is a false and dangerous premise.

A democracy in which the well-being of its people is conditioned and determined by a play of specially designed forces is bound sooner or later to succumb to an overwhelming force. A society built on that basis may retain a democratic semblance for a while, but eventually what is left of it is more shadow than substance. Moreover, any advocacy of countering pressure with pressure must by its very nature push moral imperatives to the background; instead of being guided by principles of social justice, it's being driven by laws of the jungle.

To sanction pressure lobbying as a prime mover behind social legislation is to sanction the doctrine of grabbing by the organized strong at the expense of the unorganized weak, bearing in mind that the former always possess the means of generating and releasing more pressure on legislative bodies than the latter. From a place of people's representatives invested with mandatory powers to legislate "the best for the most," Congress is turned into a transmission belt for high-powered machines bent on extracting from it the most and the best. It becomes apart from,

(Continued on page 4)

Bandwagon

The Newton Nonesuch

When the great-granddaughter of Queen Victoria is happy doing her own work, and raising a family of six in Newton, Mass., she is unquestionably unique. – *From a Rinehart press release on a book by Princess Ileana of Rumania.*

Only Rattled Them

There is no evidence that the A-bomb has caused any permanent damage to the structure of the teeth of Hiroshima survivors, Dr. LeRoy M. Ennis said yesterday. – *From the Philadelphia* Sunday Bulletin.

Rodents, Arise!

Laboratory animals, deprived of protein . . . develop nervous jitters and muscle weakness, abandon mating activity, cease to produce sperm cells, so they are forever bereft of the joys of fatherhood. – *From Better Homes and Gardens* magazine.

Eternal Vigilance . . .

Asserting the country is being "flooded with un-American elements," Rep. John E. Rankin (D, Miss.) yesterday blocked House passage of a bill to admit a three-year-old half-Japanese boy to the United States. – *AP dispatch from Washington.*

No Entangling Alliances

Senator Taft reacted with mild irritation to questions about the "McCarthyism issue" Thursday [September 20] in St. Paul. "I don't know what the issue is," he said. "I don't make myself responsible for another Senator. . . ." – *From the Minneapolis* Star.

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

IN KOREA the enemy has about 40 divisions in line and another 30 in reserve, and it has rebuilt the North Korean Army. It has about 1,200 planes. This is a formidable force. However, the UN Army to which General Bradley and the State Department's top Russian expert, Charles Bohlen, are now making their crucial visit has a position of immense strength. Maybe the Pentagon is over-confident, but it regards its defense line, supported by massed air power and heavy artillery, as able to hold back any attack. That is the position as the final decision is taken on whether truce talks are resumed.

The four Senators who heard McCarthy's phony charges against Ambassador Jessup's confirmation last week were suave on the surface but boiling beneath. Only with difficulty did Senator Fulbright (D, Ark.) restrain himself and cleave to the polite course which Chairman Sparkman (D, Ala.) had indicated. McCarthy was arrogant to a point almost insufferable. There is a new note about the man who has always grandiloquently referred to himself as "McCarthy." Under examination he has a galling trick of dragging out his replies and then lashing out at the questioner for "interrupting him"; his answers make little pretense of being responsive, and he assumes an air of weary patience in explaining that he has "answered that question 20 times before." Senators don't like a colleague to treat them like that. Similarly McCarthy startled the highly paid opposing lawyer in the Drew Pearson libel suit by calling him a "shyster" in pre-trial hearings. In a third affair last week McCarthy didn't appear as Senator Benton (D, Conn.) called for his ouster on perjury charges. But reporters pricked up their ears as Benton commented that McCarthy's amazing charges against George Marshall suggested "insanity." McCarthy isn't crazy, but there is a new, reckless, gunman-type of arrogance about him that certainly recalls megalomania.

Without Taft, McCarthy would hardly have gotten where he is. In recent interviews Taft begins to back away, but still thinks his protégé has performed valuable service by "rousing the public." A straw in the wind is *Life* magazine's timid little appeal to Taft to disown his axis partner. Henry Luce, who carries the GOP burden on his shoulders, has seen the weather-vane change. There is also a veiled mention of something else, deep-seated and disagreeable, in the *Life* editorial. McCarthy, McCarran and Company are likely to embarrass the Church to which they belong. We wish more prominent Catholics would disown McCarthy. He has indeed become the wrong kind of symbol, of something dark and frightening, and he is not doing the crusade against Communism good.

Taft, incidentally, has a schedule of 25 speeches between now and December 5 that will take him from one coast to the other. He is repeating, systematically and methodically, for the nation the type of first-hand campaign that won him victory in Ohio in 1950. Few Presidential candidates have ever set themselves such a task. We do not wish to be unkind, but Taft seems also bent on systematically confusing his position on foreign affairs. His forthcoming book on the subject, to be released on November 15, is designed to show how internationalist he really is even though he opposes almost everything FDR and Truman have done. The chuckling Chicago *Tribune* will keep on supporting him.

This ever-modest column refrains from stressing that it predicted June 4 that Canada would go ahead with the St. Lawrence Waterway single-handed if Congress still said "No." Now the story is in all the papers. Every consideration of national self-interest has called for this power-waterway project for 30 years.

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Canada means business—the latest news is not a mere high-pressure tactic. We sigh as we think of the erstwhile cheaper costs, of the job in depression years, of the power that could have benefitted us all, if Congress had ignored lobbyists. But it is the old story. Rep. Hugh Mitchell (D, Wash.) points to the present power crisis in the Northwest where aluminum defense plants face a shut-down. Originally the huge McNary Dam was scheduled to start producing power there in 1948. But the utility lobby held back appropriations. The 81st Congress voted funds to start work, but operation isn't scheduled till 1953.

It is worth examining why beef prices are going up. It is because the carefully doctored price-control law has a provision virtually guaranteeing profits. This built-in provision was bitterly opposed by the Administration. Now profits in hides and tallow have declined so the new profit-margin formula permits beef prices to go up. The battle for real price control was lost when Congress rejected price rollbacks.

Truman is going to get only a little over half of the anti-inflation tax increase he sought. Conservatives like Senator George (D, Ga.) say that taxes have reached their limit: the public just won't draw its belt any tighter to help its sons fighting in Korea. Meanwhile, loopholes in tax laws have been widened rather than narrowed. The oil industry's precious "depletion allowance" is extended. There is a beaut of a new one, too: In 1946 the Supreme Court plugged a rich-man's-tax-evasion loophole known as "family partnerships" —making all the little tots "partners" in the family income. This device split the income and cut taxes. The Senate now reinstates this delightful little arrangement which ought to be good for a cool $100 million to the wealthy. Not satisfied even with this, it makes it retroactive to 1939. The Treasury thinks this will cost $200 million more. A recent *Saturday Evening Post* editorial labeled efforts by the federal government to keep off-shore oil a "grab"; the "grab consists of keeping what the highest court says belongs to citizens.

Washington T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 2)

instead of a part of, the government for the people.

What Mr. Mazur describes as "a strong, healthy democracy" working in the legislative field through pressures that "can bring about a balance," would, through its constant exposure to sectional or group pressure that gathers momentum with each move and never reaches a point of equilibrium, degenerate into such a sickly, emaciated state as to fall an easy prey to a dominant monster, whoever he may be and whatever he may be named.

Philadelphia MAX BISER

Go East, Young Indian

● Congratulations to Mr. Ickes on his "Go East, Young Indian" article in your September 3 issue.

It is yet another sign of dissatisfaction with Indian Commissioner Dillon S. Myer. Where there are so many smoke signals there must be fire.

Indians are tired of attempts to set a tyrant over their tepees. When a bureaucrat becomes overbearing he should be given the boot. Myer should be given the moccasin!

DANIEL FRANCIS CLANCY
Continental Chief, Continental Confederation of Adopted Indians

Springfield, Ohio

Proudly for Truman

● A recent correspondent took the Truman administration very much to task—as who couldn't? She regretted, in passing, the unpleasant matter of the Dewey-Hanley affair, but this only lent vigor to her denunciations. The *NR* has repeatedly pointed out many weak spots in the Truman Administration and I agree with all you have said. Particularly tragic are the Truman appointments to the Supreme Court, and for myself, I am not overly fond of some of the members of his official and semi-official family. I also feel personally aggrieved at his dogged loyalty to this man or that, at the expense of all the rest of us. Loyalty is a noble quality, but in his job he owes it first to the 154 million.

But I am still for Truman and I think that every thoughtful liberal agrees. It is not just that his fighting heart appeals to me, though it does, nor is it just that his decent humility in a proud job bespeaks him well. It is this: First, the man is personally honest—yes, despite the shouts of "Pendergast" by those who would sooner hit below the belt than face *all* the facts. His personal integrity is above question. Second, he has a high quality of courage: he will not buckle under pressure—his veto of the Kerr gas-grab bill showed that. Third, I think he is big enough to learn by his mistakes. All these characteristics, added to a large pile of evidence that he is on the side of the people in the Armageddon against the encroaching monopolies, make me for him—proudly for him.

DONALD C. SKONE-PALMER

North Hollywood, Calif.

Hearst and His Workers

● I was really shocked when I read William Randolph Hearst's will to see that the workmen who helped him accumulate an estate of $200 million were not remembered. . . .

Santa Barbara, Calif. MARY M. SIMPSON

Novelists and Today's Culture

● Hartley Grattan says (*NR*, August 27) that John W. Aldridge excluded [in his recent book, *After the Lost Generation*] the young writers who find values in this culture. But wonderful, shameless Grattan names not one of the excluded.

There are none such. The early novelists praised the values of business, but for 50 years now novelists have hated those values. . . .

Perth Amboy, N. J. DAVID MANDEL

● Mr Mandel's reading of American literary history is passing strange. I suggest that he read the "early novelists" and try again—meaning Hawthorne, Melville, James, or even Howells, Norris, Crane, etc. In short, take a look at the record.

Katonah, N. Y. HARTLEY GRATTAN

"X" for President

● *New Republic* letter writers talk about Justice Black and Justice Douglas of the Supreme Court for President of the United States. We shall in 1952 elect a man for President who is good for one thing only: Wall Street.

What his name will be I know not, but it will not be Black or Douglas.

Pahokee, Fla. R. E. BOE

Mr. Oil for President?

● An article in *Time* states that the Roosevelt Left Wing of the Democratic Party [in California] alienated the Pauley Right Wing by endorsing Harry Truman for re-election.

Will someone tell me whom Pauley recommends for the Presidency? Senator Robert Kerr?

Brookline, Mass. RICHARD D. STONE

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New Republic

McCARTHY ON TRIAL

HONEST MINDS recoil from the repulsive fact that degraded types exist who can repeat and repeat barefaced lies with the manner and conviction of men proclaiming the truth. This weakness among honest men was of great service to Hitler. It serves our own pocket-size demagogue, Joe McCarthy.

McCarthy's gift for making lies sound like truth is illustrated in a story recounted by Oliver Pilat and William Shannon in their series, *Smear Incorporated*. In a question-and-answer period at Madison, Wis., a veteran asked McCarthy: "Why do you wear built-up shoes?" Shannon and Pilat continue:

> McCarthy hesitated. Then he melodramatically reached down, removed one shoe and held it up so the crowd could see its curious shape and the metal frame inside.
>
> "I'll tell you why I wear this shoe," he thundered. "It's because I carry ten pounds of shrapnel in this leg."
>
> . . . Actually McCarthy doesn't have an ounce of shrapnel in his leg. He was never wounded. But the fabulous falsehood which sprang so naturally to McCarthy's lips held off the audience for the moment while he made his getaway.

In testimony before a Senate committee, meeting to consider his motion to expel McCarthy, Senator William Benton enlarges on this ugly theme. "Freedom to lie," Benton told the Senate committee, "is not a freedom which membership in the US Senate confers upon any man." In a 30,000-word brief, Benton went on to prove that McCarthy is a liar.

Ten cases are cited by Benton. Typical is the first concerning McCarthy's original charge of Communist infiltration of the State Department, made at Wheeling, W. Va., on February 9, 1950. In that speech, delivered over radio station WMVA, McCarthy said:

> I have here in my hand a list of 205—a list of names that were made known to the Secretary of State as being members of the Communist Party and who nevertheless are still working and shaping policy in the State Department.

That this is the true version of McCarthy's charge is affirmed in sworn statements of James E. Whitaker, news editor of WMVA; Paul Myers, program director of WMVA; and Fran Desmond, of the Wheeling *Intelligencer*. Against this is the statement of Edward Morgan, counsel of the Tydings subcommittee, that in an executive session on April 24, 1950, and under oath:

> Senator McCarthy stated that he did not in his Wheeling speech say that there were 205 Communists in the State Department known to the Secretary of State.

The statement of Paul Myers continues:

> I read the attached 13-page script before it was delivered by Senator McCarthy. . . . I reviewed our tape recording of the delivered speech before WWVA broadcast it . . . and again reviewed it against the script on the following day. I certify that the tape recording was the same as the attached script. . . .

Yet on February 20, 1950, McCarthy read into the *Congressional Record* a speech he declared was the Wheeling speech, as he had delivered it, in which the crucial paragraphs were substantially changed. McCarthy went on to add: "What I am reading was taken from a recording of the speech. I did not use a written speech that night."

The Senate subcommittee now considering McCarthy's expulsion is the same committee which "vigorously denounced" the "despicable back-street campaign" waged against Senator Tydings in Maryland. It called for legislation which would make "acts of defamation, slander and libel sufficient grounds for presentment to the Senate for the purpose of declaring a Senate seat vacant." The committee did not recommend the expulsion of Senator Butler, but McCarthy's actions obviously transcend those of Butler as violations of "the trust and duty" of Senators which Chief Justice Story set forth as grounds for expulsion.

Senators, the Constitution provides, "shall not be questioned in any other place for what they say. . . ." They can and must be questioned in the Senate. If the committee stops short of expulsion, it cannot turn a blind eye to perjury, punished at its initiative in countless other cases. As Senator Benton remarked:

> If your committee decides that Senator McCarthy has committed perjury, I assume it will bring the facts to the attention of the proper authorities for prosecution in the courts. I concede cheerfully that if this is done my resolution . . . becomes somewhat academic. . . . A Senator in jail for all practical purposes has been expelled.

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THE WEEK

A CRUST OF BREAD

On February 22, 1944, President Franklin Roosevelt, in his message to Congress vetoing the Revenue Act, said:

> It has been suggested by some that I should give my approval to this bill on the ground that having asked Congress for a loaf of bread to take care of this war for the sake of this and succeeding generations, I should be content with a small piece of crust. I might have done so if I had not noticed that the small piece of crust contained so many extraneous and inedible materials. . . .

The tax bill and the tenor of the times, when FDR thus chided Congress, were not unlike they are today. Congress was voting huge military expenditures; corporation profits were reaching record heights; and a tax bill, full of loopholes, giving unwarranted relief to large corporations and bearing down heavily on lower-income groups, was presented for the President's signature. As a result of the Senate's recent action on tax legislation, President Truman must feel very much as though he too is being given an "inedible" crust. In a message to the Senate, the President described the $5.5 billion tax bill as insufficient "to distribute the heavy defense cost fairly among our people and to restrain inflationary pressures." The President had asked that taxes be increased to the $10 billion mark; the House passed a $7.2 billion bill, and the Senate Finance Committee pared it down to $5.5, the sum finally approved by the Senate.

A handful of Senators, led by Hubert Humphrey (D, Minn.), made an unsuccessful attempt to close the yawning loopholes. They were defeated in virtually every instance by a three-to-one majority. Primary opposition to any change in the proposed bill stemmed from the bipartisan leadership of Senators Walter F. George (D, Ga.) and Eugene D. Millikin (R, Colo.), ranking members of the Finance Committee. A solid bloc of Byrd-Democrats and Taft-Republicans backed George's theory that "the tax barrel is almost empty" and Congress may have to resort to sales or transaction taxes in the future. (In answer to this, Humphrey took a look in the big-business barrel and pointed out that taking $800 million in corporation taxes out of $50 billion gross profits would hardly "jeopardize the economic solvency of business.")

Senators Paul Douglas (D, Ill.), Herbert Lehman (D, N.Y.), Blair Moody (D, Mich.), Wayne Morse (R, Ore.), Joseph O'Mahoney (D, Wyo.) and Humphrey were unable to muster more than from 15 to 30 votes for any of the proposals that would have yielded the government additional millions to meet the high cost of our military emergency. An excess-profits proposal, defeated 62 to 20, would have brought in an annual yield of about $700 million. Excess profits are now taxed at 77 percent; the amendment defeated would have raised corporation taxes to 82 percent. By a vote of 77 to 15, the Senate extended special "hardship" relief from excess-profits taxes to 21 favored corporations. This loss will cut government revenues $120 million. In addition, Administration supporters were defeated in attempts to add $500 million to the net income from the bill by making corporation increases retroactive to January 1, instead of April 1; to add $320 million by restoring the House-approved 20-percent withholding tax on dividends and interest; to amend the capital-gains tax on coal royalties; and to substitute an equitable personal-income-tax increase of a flat 12.5 percent, passed by the House, for the Senate committee formula which actually taxes low incomes at a higher percentage rate than those in the upper income bracket.

Oddly enough, Senator George accused his opponents of trying to stop inflation by "taking more money from the little fellow." He charged that "this Administration has had but a mild will, at best, to control prices, including wages, and control of both is absolutely indispensable to the control of inflation." To this, Humphrey replied:

> In recent votes on the Defense Production Act in the Senate there was not the same solicitude for the low-income groups. No rollbacks were authorized, no individual price ceilings were authorized. In fact, I did not see any overwhelming majority vote, led by the chairman of the Finance Committee, to see to it that we had ceiling, item-by-item prices on every single article which is sold to the American economy. . . .
>
> How about the percentage depletion for oil companies? How about the increase in the extension of the percentage depletion for coal and other minerals? How about the capital-gains tax? How about the splitting of incomes? How about the splitting of corporations to gain exemptions from surtaxes which is permitted? Are these provisions in favor of the low-income groups?

There is slight hope that the Senate-House Conference Committee will find a way to make the crust more edible before the bill reaches Truman's table.

CHEESE AND THE CZECHS

For a day last week the US got an inkling of what it felt like to be an unpopular minority at an international meeting. The occasion was the Geneva meeting of the members of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, which was considering a special US plea. Speaking through Assistant Secretary of State Willard Thorp, this country was asking its fellow members to grant it special dispensation to revoke the tariff concessions we had made to Czechoslovakia under GATT rules. This was an embarrassing thing for the US—which has consistently championed tariff reductions—to ask, and a number of the European countries seized the opportunity to see Thorp squirm by withholding approval.

They were prompted less by liking for the Czechs than a concern for cheese. Congress' irresponsible action in writing a prohibition on dairy imports into the Defense Production Act has seriously hurt a number of our continental friends, and Thorp was hard put to

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defend this unilateral action. His case against the Czechs was based on Congressional action last spring in forbidding tariff privileges to Iron Curtain countries—of which Czechoslovakia is the only one in GATT. Thorp argued that there was an "acute and fundamental incompatability" between the two countries and that the Conference should recognize that fact just as it had recognized it in the case of India and South Africa.

Thorp was acting essentially as an errand boy for Congress, illustrating the fact that our economic policy has increasingly passed into the hands of Congress. On the floor of the House, cheese from Denmark can seem just as insidious as shoes from Czechoslovakia. Fortunately, the Oatis case had arisen to bolster the moral issue involved in the Czech tariff matter, and after a day of debate the US request was granted, 24 to 1. But it took some smooth maneuvering to get the declaration through, and Thorp may be called on for a good deal more finesse in the months to come as rearmament cuts into our allies' bankrolls.

DISMISSAL WITHOUT HEARING

FAIRMONT, W. VA. (NR corresp.)

During a closed session of the West Virginia State Board of Education on July 10, the board voted to dismiss Dr. Luella Mundel as chairman of the art department of Fairmont State College. No charges against her were revealed at that time, nor has the board informed Dr. Mundel of any reason for her dismissal up to this date. In fact, the nearest thing to a written charge appeared in "Ticks and Tocks," a gossip column in a local Fairmont newspaper, the *West Virginian*, which on August 1 said, "Among the stories going around is one that Dr. Mundel openly has stated that she is an atheist. I request Dr. Mundel to confirm or deny this."

Dr. Mundel denied the rumor in an open letter to the newspaper and in conversation with the Fairmont State College President, Dr. George H. Hand, who had recommended that her contract be renewed. Before accepting her position at Fairmont two years ago, Dr. Mundel had been employed in two religious institutions, the convent of Mount St. Francis, Dubuque, Iowa, and the Presbyterian Park College near Kansas City, Mo., where, she adds, "my beliefs were treated as my own private business."

Later developments revealed that one of Dr. Mundel's art-department colleagues, Fridtjof Schroder (who had aspired to be chairman before Dr. Mundel was selected for the position), had written a secret letter to the board denouncing her with such unfounded accusations as "she cannot teach" and "she dislikes students." Schroder addressed his complaint to Mrs. Thelma Brand Loudin, a member of the board, who immediately charged that Dr. Mundel was a "bad security risk." Three days later, Mrs. Loudin, discovering that such a charge was slanderous, told Dr. Hand that she wanted to amend her charge to "poor teaching."

Meanwhile, the American Legion Post began its own anti-Mundel movement. At an American Legion "anti-subversive seminar," Mrs. Mundel had taken issue with some of the statements made by Victor Lasky, co-author of *Seeds of Treason*, who was guest speaker, stating that she believed professional anti-Communists were threatening civil liberties by grouping liberals with Communists. An anonymous letter-writing campaign against Dr. Mundel began immediately following the meeting.

Because of the secret charges which, if established by evidence, would jeopardize Dr. Mundel's professional status, the American Association of University Professors urged the Board of Education to grant Dr. Mundel's petition for a hearing. Early this month, the board refused. The AAUP, the American Civil Liberties Union and the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools are now making independent investigations of Dr. Mundel's dismissal.

TOO MUCH SECURITY

President Truman has issued an executive order requiring all government departments to withhold from publication information that might be valuable to potential enemies. They are to employ the system now used by the State and Defense Departments, in which there are four grades of "classified" material—restricted, confidential, secret and top secret. The President says hopefully that the new system "must not be used to withhold non-security information or to cover up mistakes made by any official or employee of the government," but he seems to stand alone in thinking that this won't happen.

The American Society of Newspaper Editors has already protested the order, saying that "the net effect . . . [will] be to formalize the suppression of much news to which the public is entitled." Joseph Short, White House press secretary, has promised that he will help reporters when some department head locks up material that should be made public; but Mr. Short has no legal standing, and could not possibly give the matter the time and attention it seems likely to require. Alexander F. Jones, of the Syracuse, N.Y., *Herald-Journal*, head of the ASNE, says that "the order does not contain proper declassification provisions and there is not a definite appeal regulation." Certainly, there is no evidence that the dangers of the former procedure are as serious as those of the new one, under which every government official will be tempted to decide that revealing anything wrong in his particular bureau constitutes a breach of security.

OUTSIDE INCOME

The President's impromptu proposal requiring all top-bracket government officials and Congressmen to file annual reports on their private and public incomes, including gifts and loans, was undoubtedly designed to take some of the edge off the current investigation of Democratic National Chairman William Boyle. Nevertheless, it deserves the serious consideration of Congress, many of whose members fit into the category of those who "yield to the temptation to let their public acts be swayed by private interest," as the President said.

Under the proposal, all federal employees receiving salaries of $10,000 or more and others who have outside incomes of "perhaps $1,000 a year" would be required to file income statements under the statute. Penalties for violation, the President said, should be equivalent

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to those for violations of laws relating to the filing of income-tax returns.

"In recent months," the President declared, "there has been something amounting to a deliberate effort to discredit the government service. Attempts have been made through implication and innuendo, and by exaggeration and distortion of the facts in a few cases, to create the impression that graft and corruption are running rampant through the whole government. . . . We must guard against the danger that the misconduct of a few will result in unwarranted suspicion and distrust of the honesty of all government officials."

Sen. Eugene Millikin (R, Colo.) cried out that such a measure is "too cheap, too degrading to be before the Senate" —an indignant protest that was echoed by others who are now trying to prove that Boyle received an outside income for services rendered in behalf of the American Lithofold Corporation. Unfortunately, Congress seemed no more enthusiastic about the President's proposal today than it was six years ago when Sen. Wayne Morse (R, Ore.) first introduced a bill that contains almost identical provisions. Senator Morse plans to push his bill now that the White House has brought it to light.

HERBLOCK IN THE WASHINGTON POST

Just big enough to drive a few trucks through.

GLIMMERS AT BONN

Much to American dismay, a number of leading German politicians have turned anything but a deaf ear to the latest siren-songs wafted into the Federal Republic from Otto Grotewohl's East German's puppet state. None of the previous Communist unity proposals has evoked the response given the latest one. Two leading parties, the Free Democrats and the Social Democrats, forced the Adenauer Cabinet to change its decision to turn down the Grotewohl offer categorically. Kurt Schumacher's party demanded that the government declare Germany-wide elections an "urgent necessity."

All this is taking place in a propaganda dreamland. It is not likely that Acheson and Vishinsky will suddenly co-operate to please the Germans. The Russians are eager to break growing ties between Bonn and the NATO alliance, but they will do nothing to loosen their own hold in the East. The West is very anxious to integrate the Federal Republic militarily and politically and is against any scheme that will interfere with that process. That talk about unity continues to find such attentive respondents in the West is a sign that there is still a big gap to bridge before Germans accept the political realities implicit in their alliance with the West.

Consideration of the Communist unity proposals has, in fact, delayed Bonn's consideration of the new "contract" which will make Germany the internally independent cornerstone of NATO defense. Much time was wasted in preparing replies to the notes from the East. In addition, the Adenauer government faces the psychological problem of selling political synthesis with the West when the promise of national unity glimmers, however dimly, from the East. The glimmer can be expected to fade, but the image of a reconstituted Germany will continue to be a dangerous evanescent factor for the architects of the new Europe to watch.

THE UN FINDS OIL

The Iranian oil problem is now before the Security Council of the United Nations. It was placed there by the British, who have been much applauded for taking such a course. Actually they only chose not to do the criminally insane, for the landing of British troops at Abadan might well have precipitated a spreading conflict. Putting the case before the UN is desirable as a means of giving both sides a form for blowing off verbal steam. A solution may be delayed by going back to consideration of the legal basis of nationalization but a compromise of the working differences should be more easily attainable at the Council table.

The Iranians seem to welcome the chance to appear before the Council. The new showdown precipitated by Mossedegh's use of troops to lock the British technicians out of the Abadan plant gave his regime a new lease on life. The pitting of Iran against Britain at the Security Council table has rallied the erratic Premier's internal support to the point where the parliamentary opposition has declared it will back him during this national crisis. The Security Council debate will serve to focus the issue clearly as between two national interests. Up to now many Americans have thought that the controversy was between a huge industrial enterprise in the hands of an engineer or of an infirm politician.

It will be up to the US to try once more to bring the parties together. The chances are better—both sides are tired and afraid of the repercussions of continued impassé. A few weeks of world publicity and saving-of-face and both should be willing to accept some such compromise as a multinational administrative board with an Iranian, an Englishman, an American and perhaps a Swiss sharing responsibility for the efficient working of the Iranian resources.

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Outside America

HELPING EUROPE'S MORALE

The London *Times* in an important leading editorial weighs the achievements "in terms of the present state of Europe" of American aid under the Marshall Plan "which was, among a number of other things, to be the answer to Communism." And in relation to the goal of "Answering Communism"—the title of the editorial—the authoritative English newspaper comes to the "sobering" conclusion that, despite the Marshall Plan, Communism has maintained and even increased its strength since 1948 in Italy and France. Moreover, "the honor and attraction of being the party of the working class have passed to the Communists." The newspaper comments:

> The fact remains that fighting Communism with the weapon of economic betterment—for that was the chosen weapon of the Marshall Plan—can never by itself succeed. Betterment has its place in the conflict because it is a democratic duty—and, more pragmatically, because poverty and social injustice are the feeding grounds of revolt. Yet far more important for victory over the Communist *mystique* and appeal, which no democratic party matches on its own ground, is the deeper fact that a pseudo-religion may be finally grappled and destroyed only by a real religion.

The appraisal of the *Times* is important for a number of reasons. First, there is the matter of the timing. The view that economic betterment is not a major weapon in the struggle against Western European Communism is set forth by one of the most influential organs of conservative opinion at precisely the time when the Marshall Plan is shifting its emphasis from progressive recovery to all-out production, largely for strategic ends, and when the American Congress, going much farther, is trying to subordinate the economic to the specifically military in all American help to the rest of the free world.

It is equally important because it reflects the emergence in England—a country perhaps farther than any other from the concept of inspirational political religion infecting the fiber of nations—of a trend already well (and dangerously) established in Spain and Portugal, and spreading in Italy, Western Germany, Belgium and (most significantly) in France. That is the trend toward various forms of the gospel of the political Right, antedating both Communism and Fascism, that the state of the "soul" of a people or nation is the determining factor of its strength and health.

But the greatest importance of the editorial derives from the fact that its conclusions are based on error or at least less than half truth. For it is not quite accurate to say, as the *Times* does, that the weapon of economic betterment has failed as an effective instrument against Communism in France and Italy.

The fact is, as this writer was able to see in two months of travel through Italy south of Rome, that Communism is spreading in an area of "a real religion"—of a Roman Catholicism entirely untouched and uncontested by the so-called *mystique* of the pseudo-religion of Communism—precisely because the Italian governments have *not moved* far enough forward along the path of social reform to bring about economic betterment of the people. It is therefore a dangerous delusion—or would be, if the American people accepted the view of the *Times*—that the time has come to shift from the weapon of economic betterment to a democratic *mystique* (if the phrase is not a contradiction in terms) of infection and inspiration.

The average income of an American is about $1,800 a year. For a Frenchman it is $660, and the cost of living has risen by 24 percent during the last year, with no equivalent increase in wages. The present American thesis, as expressed in the new orientation of the Marshall Plan, is that some measure of equalization can be achieved by stepped-up production through renewal and modernization of industrial plant and technique. But if American money is diverted away from economic betterment (already inadequate), the human and psychological effect during the crucial period of the next year or two will tend to deprive America's grand strategic plan of precisely that which General Gruenther says it most needs from Western Europe—the spirit of willing support.

The average annual income of an Italian is $260—far lower in the South—and the *Giornale* of Naples, the national organ of the Liberal Party (which is to the Right of the British Liberal Party in policies), is able to say that Italy's one and only real problem is "the possibility of giving food to our people and of keeping it among those peoples who count in civilized society." Judging the Italian situation from a far closer and more accurate perspective than that of the *Times*, the Neapolitan newspaper says that economic betterment must now, more than ever, come first as an element not only in the struggle against Communism but also in the development of military preparedness. The *Giornale* writes:

> This is true for the excellent reason that it is much easier to arm at the last moment a healthy and strong people, untortured by hunger and deprivation . . . than it is to fight a war with people apparently equipped with good weapons and technically well instructed, but undermined by that constitutional poverty and that economic inadequacy which characterize the Italian people. The basis of good armament is a healthy economy—precisely that which Italy has lacked in all its wars. . . . Italy is a "poor relation" [of the Americans], and unless she is helped to live decently the whole strategic plan and any strategic plan of the Atlantic powers must fatally collapse.

General Eisenhower has been pleased, even enthusiastic, about the Italian troops he has seen, but if the whole Italian army—backed up by the Italian people—is to be practically dependable it is important that the planners in Washington should not fall into the trap of believing that infecting the Europeans with the spirit and will to fight and win can remove the infection—both physical and psychological—that comes from the want and the weakness of the people.

Rome PERCY WINNER

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CORRUPTION AND CHIANG KAI-SHEK

by Michael Straight

SEVEN hundred million people live in the independent nations of Asia. Their governments need help and are due to share about $900 million in US aid. One in a hundred of these Asians lives under Chiang Kai-shek in Formosa. But he will get one-third of the aid.

How much of the $300 million that we are sending to Chiang will be wasted? Can we afford to tie the destinies of the US to those of Chiang? The revelations of Gen. P. T. Mow and Col. V. S. Hsiang describing corruption in the Nationalist regime force these questions upon us. This corruption, they claim, was countenanced by Chiang Kai-shek and will continue as long as he holds power on Formosa.

Conditions on Formosa two years ago are described by Chiang's Chief of Staff, Gen. C. J. Chou, in letters turned up in the course of this controversy:

> The efficiency of our fighting forces is inconceivably low . . . there is no discipline in our ground forces at all. All epithets that we used to describe the worst army are far from being strong enough to depict the true state of our present troops. Therefore our future, which relies only on a stretch of water, gives us no hope. . . .
>
> Our government is just as corrupt as it used to be, and our military strength is just as impotent: even if the anti-Communist campaign wins the final victory someday, I fear there is no chance for this government.

In these years the Nationalists were financed by US wartime contributions, and by the $125 million tacked onto ECA appropriations by Congress in 1948. All procurement, however, was handled by the Chinese, without close supervision. General Mow, a deputy commander of the Nationalist air force, purchased air force supplies; Colonel Hsiang was his executive officer. Whatever Mow's own role may have been, the documents he has released prove that he and Hsiang have struggled on for three years to end the corruption that thrived under Chou's command with Chiang's consent.

The distrust between Mow and Chou was exploited from 1949 on by an American company, Commerce International (China), Inc. Its president was an Armenian—Miran Apprahamian; its vice-president, a Greek—Satiris Galahad Fassoulis. It established itself on Formosa in the summer of 1949, selling millions of dollars worth of munitions for cash, and for American military equipment which it resold to other nations.

In the spring of 1950, Commerce International (China), Inc., working through Chiang and his wife, obtained a service fee of $750,000 a year, paid for by American taxpayers. It organized an "American Technical and Military Advisory Group" headed by Adm. Charles Cooke, a former Chief of Staff to Admiral King. The CIC, by acting as an intermediary, by-passed a prohibition forbidding US officers to work for foreign governments. They, in turn, helped CIC by-pass the Nationalists' own procurement staffs.

On April 10, 1950, Mow and Hsiang warned Chou that profiteers, offering useless equipment at outrageous prices, were working with the CIC to exploit the Nationalists' need for arms. Chou's reply was an instruction to Mow to purchase "a large quantity of bombs located by the CIC in Europe." The bombs were surplus American weapons, sold on condition that the metal be used for scrap and the explosives for fertilizer. CIC's price was double the cost of new bombs available in the US.

Later in 1950, Chou rejected a US Government offer of 50 Thunderbolt fighters and backed the CIC's attempts to foist on Formosa a pile of junk, described as 25 Mustang fighters. The price of each plane was set by the CIC at $36,000, providing for $9,000 profit for CIC and $8,000 as proposed graft for Hsiang. This bribe, amounting to almost $200,000 on one transaction, Fassoulis proposed to transmit to Hsiang by way of Panama and Switzerland. "According to Fassoulis," Hsiang testified, "this is the safest way to keep money because US authorities have no jurisdiction even to make inquiries about such matters."

In the course of its three-year history, CIC, as Alfred Friendly pointed out in the Washington *Post*, has engaged in forgery, fraudulent execution of the Civil Aeronautics Administration inspection reports, smuggling, misrepresentation of facts to secure export licenses, slander of high government officials and widespread bribery. All this the CIC has done as an official representative of the Chinese Government, favored by Chiang. It was, in fact, the efforts of Mow and Hsiang to tear Chiang loose from the CIC that led Chiang to denounce Mow as a traitor and Hsiang as a "Communist agent" and to demand that they be extradited to Formosa to face trial and probably execution.

Mow and Hsiang declare that they have released only a few of the documents in their possession. They insist that the corruption they have exposed is a fraction of the corruption that centers around Chiang. Long ago the US White Paper on China declared that a good part of the $500 million the US gave Chiang to support his

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currency was placed in private bank accounts by grafting officials. Chiang's spokesmen claim that these transfers were made to avoid the freezing of government funds following US recognition of China's new government. But where are these accounts, and how many are available today to meet Chiang's present needs? General Mow says he knows of many private accounts where millions in government funds are kept. Chiang's relatives by marriage in the US have moved to silence Mow. And a clerk in the Chinese Purchasing Commission has reported a request to relay an offer of $500,000 as a bribe to Mow and Hsiang to shut up.

Mow and Hsiang have punched a gaping hole in the façade of Chiang's prestige. Chinese in America, even in the Embassy, while they regret Mow's action believe that he is right. Congressmen are impressed by his story. The China Lobby is shaken. Our continued backing of Chiang Kai-shek, and therefore his future, turn on the reactions of the conference committee on foreign assistance, where aid to Formosa is up for a decision.

Those who oppose a change in our Formosan policy argue firstly that there is nothing unique in the revelations of corruption on Formosa. There is widespread corruption in Indonesia, Burma and India. There is universal corruption on the Philippines. That is true; yet the responsibility of the US varies in each case. The total military and economic aid we are granting Indonesia amounts to little more than 11 cents per person; total aid to India amounts to 15 cents. In contrast the military and economic aid we are granting Formosa amounts to more than $40 a head each year. We are granting more than twice as much aid, per capita, to Formosa than to any other nation in the world. Economic aid is only one-third of our total help to Chiang's regime; and yet if economic aid alone is considered, Formosa stands apart in Asia, as the accompanying table shows:

	Per-capita ECA aid (in dollars)	*Ratio of Aid to National Income*	*Ratio of aid to Government Expenditures*
Formosa	$12	19.5%	58.9%
Philippines	1.77	1.6%	11.6
Burma	.78	2.3%	8.3
Thailand	.38	0.8	4.2
India	.15	2.8	6.8
Indonesia	.11	0.3	1.0

The importance of our intervention varies, of course, with the size of the nations we aid. But, in general, we have treated the new nations of Asia more harshly, in economic terms, than they were treated by their former colonial masters, while in Formosa we ourselves have taken on colonial responsibilities.

In Formosa we inherited a prosperous economy and a literate people, advanced far beyond most of Asia under Japanese rule. We continued to support the 300 farmers' co-operatives established by Japan. We helped to introduce tenure rights and to force reductions in rents. Americans and Chinese, working as equals in the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction, have progressed far in bringing modern techniques of agricultural production and rural living to Formosans.

Under the administration of K. C. Wu, Formosa has probably the most efficient bureaucracy of any government in Asia. Formosans have been given a share of responsibilities. Economic policies are shaped under the guidance of American and Chinese experts on the Economic Stabilization Board. In contrast to Burma, where civil war makes progress impossible, and to Indonesia, where the Communists are smuggling in heavy machine guns, Formosa enjoys order. "Formosa," Allen Griffin, the ECA's Far Eastern Director, told the Congress, "is the one country where you can go, on foot or on horseback, in perfect safety day or night."

Order, however, is imposed by dictatorship. Formosa is a police state, administered by Chiang's son and apparent dynastic successor, Chiang Ching-kuo. This man, one of the most ignorant and bigoted of the Nationalists, is head of the secret police. His men, according to Philip Potter of the Baltimore *Sun*, "exercise a potent thought control" over Formosa. Potter notes the case of a Chinese major general, reduced to a "cringing wreck" after "indoctrination" at a secret-police school, who no longer dared to be seen with American friends.

Through the secret police and the army, Chiang Kai-shek retains dictatorial control over Formosa.

Under the guise of liquidating "Communists" he has executed outstanding men, including the general manager of the Taiwan Sugar Corporation and the managing director of the Taiwan Power Company, who dared speak out against him. "Chiang fears to relax his grip on the army," according to Potter, "and trusts no one other than his own family and those who have held his confidence down through the years of Kuomintang rule." "The army," Potter concluded, "is a Kuomintang Party army rather than a national army." It is paralyzed by political domination and by a supply system which an American general described as a "can of angle worms."

Nominally, Formosa's ground forces are under Gen. Sun Li-jen, China's one non-political general who served under Stilwell and who retains a great following on the mainland. In fact, Sun is little more than a prisoner at large whom Chiang would execute in a moment if he could. Sun, an outspoken critic of Chiang, retains his position through British and American support. In

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fact, according to Potter, "The island is divided into four military districts whose commanders pay little attention to General Sun. . . . He has not the authority to move troops from one military district to another, nor the transports to do so if he had the authority." Supply is completely beyond Sun's control. Even the training of troops is directed by Chiang Ching-kuo. American advisers, according to Potter, declare that "ability is rated at the lowest priority in the advancement of an officer. His political orientation comes first."

Chou controls the four district commanders. Chou is the instrument of Chiang Kai-shek. Every aspect of the government of Formosa is controlled by Chiang. The People's Political Council, on which Formosans sit, is his tool, rigged by an adventurist named C. C. Huang, who narrowly escaped conviction while he was Consul General in San Francisco on charges of smuggling narcotics in the US. Chiang is beyond redemption. He remains as always, feudal in outlook, stubborn and gullible in character. Under his protection, the C-C clique, the most evil force in Nationalist China, retains its influence, and corruption spreads.

There is no ducking this fact. It poses a basic question for the US. In theory the ECA, by supervising supplies from the moment they are ordered until they are used up, hopes to minimize graft. Yet new charges of black markets in drugs appear as the ECA's appropriations are discussed. In theory, General Chase is building up a thousand-man mission in the Military Assistance Advisory Group which will send men down to divisional unit levels to see that US supplies are properly used. In fact, as Mow has proved, Chase recommended purchase of $1 million worth of aviation gasoline, entirely ignorant of the fact that Chiang had cached a million dollars for the same gasoline in New York. We may watch the detailed administration of Formosa at lower levels. But as long as Chiang remains our toy, every action we take will be part of Chiang's pattern and his plans.

The plans of Chiang Kai-shek raise a still more grave question concerning the purpose of American aid to Formosa.

Why are we giving $300 million a year to Formosa, six times as much as we are giving India, and more than we are giving several European nations? Government officials answer that our purpose is to save China from falling into Communist hands. But Formosa is not a critically important base. The Chinese Communists won all of China without holding Formosa. The Japanese lost all the Pacific while possessing Formosa. Other nations which are more important suffer from relative neglect.

We are in Formosa, our officials argue further, so that when the Communist regime crumbles on the mainland we will be ready with a government to move into the breach. Is our purpose, then, to restore Chiang Kai-shek?

We began by renouncing all claims to influence on Formosa. Under military pressure we neutralized Formosa to protect our forces in the Korean War. We undertook to "fill out the corners" of Chiang Kai-shek's armies. Now we are entirely re-equipping them. For what purpose? We say to defend Formosa, but any army is both defensive and offensive.

Chiang's army could not attack China without US air and sea support. At the same time it is larger than the force needed to hold Formosa and can never be supported by the Formosan economy, even when it is re-equipped. We have considered a diversionary move by Chiang's army against the mainland. Chiang himself, who has never had it better, is in no hurry to help us out in Korea. Chiang hopes, however, to march back to Chungking.

Our purpose in Formosa may be to prevent Formosa falling into Communist hands. Chiang's purpose is to use Formosa as a base for his own military reconquest of China. As long as we work under Chiang, our actions form part of his plan.

Under any commander, the military reconquest of China would be a hopeless enterprise for the foreseeable future. China can be liberated but not reconquered. And it can not be liberated by Chiang Kai-shek.

There is growing resentment against the Chinese Communist Government. So far this resentment has taken no organized form. The principal reason is that while the Formosan regime calls itself "Free China," it is not, and never can be under Chiang Kai-shek, a focal point around which the movement for a free China can take shape. There are men on Formosa, notably General Sun, who could provide that much-needed focal point. If they held power, they could give political significance to our military and economic aid. But as long as Chiang rules Formosa our aid must be frustrated.

In addition, it may well be that as long as we back Chiang we will prevent the re-emergence of nationalism on the mainland and perpetuate the subordination of the Communist regime to Stalin's domination.

The Nationalist regime is broke. Ninety percent of its imports from the US are financed by American taxpayers. To argue that we are not responsible for Chiang or that we cannot do anything about him is foolish hypocrisy.

We have taken responsibility in Formosa up to the level at which police rule by a gutted clique mocks our ends. Either we should get out of Formosa or we should accept the logic of our actions and follow them through, giving up the fiction of Chiang's dominion over China and helping freedom-loving Formosans and Chinese to end the reality of his dominion at Taipeh.

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NEHRU TAKES OVER THE CONGRESS

by Krishnalal Shridharani

SARDAR Vallabhbhai Patel, known as the "iron man of India," died on December 15, 1950, but he was politically buried on September 8, 1951. On that day Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru got himself elected, through a bloodless *coup d'etat*, as the party President of the governing group in addition to being the Prime Minister. Patel's political ghosts, led by bearded Babu Purshottamdas Tandon, gracefully accepted their defeat in order to improve the Congress Party's prospects in the general elections next January by bowing down to the biggest vote-catcher in the country. But their mood is sullen. It may be they have decided to bide their time. "Let us get re-elected first . . .," some are reported to have whispered.

The internal struggle for power in the Congress between the Right and the Left, between conservatives and liberals, came to a head a couple of months before Sardar Patel's death when his choice, Tandon, defeated Nehru's choice, Acharya Kripalani, in the presidential elections of the organization. For seven months after Patel's death, the phalanx left behind by him, mainly composed of powerful State bosses, resisted Nehru's attempts at revamping the party executive. It looked for awhile as though they would succeed in running the elections with Nehru, "a prisoner of the party," providing the necessary popular appeal. There was always the possibility of discarding Nehru after the verdict of the polls. In case Nehru desired to form the next cabinet, it was a question of now, on the eve of the elections, or never. Nehru struck.

The control of the Congress machine has now passed into liberal hands. Courageous men among Nehru's opponents like Pandit D. P. Mishra have gone out of the party to join the opposition. To that extent, politics in India has become more logical. For more than 30 years, the Congress has been like a *front populaire*, uniting within its fold all sorts of diverse elements under the over-all slogan of "Quit India" shouted against the British. Nehru's victory signals the formation of parties based upon different political and economic programs, even if it means some shrinkage in the size of the parent body. Further walkouts will be to the reactionary communal parties (Hindu Mahasabha and the Rashtriya Swayain Sewak) on the one hand and toward the progressive groups (Democrats, Farmers, Socialists) on the other.

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What remains of the Congress can be described as the Center or the Nehru Party. However, there are serious difficulties. Opportunism is uppermost during election times, and many who should depart to the Right or Left are remaining in order to be pushed to success by the main current. These elements, once reassured of five years of parliamentary security, will certainly defy Nehru in order to bolster causes that are close to their hearts. Moreover, one wing of the Nehru Party, led by Kripalani and R. A. Kidwai, has already left the Congress, after waiting too long for Nehru's promised purge, and has formed another Center Group, the Praja Party. To remedy the first difficulty, Nehru must be ruthless in refusing places on the ballot to those who are in silent revolt against his policies. To remedy the second, Nehru must obtain the return of those who now belong to the Praja Party. Both these steps are deemed improbable, but not impossible.

In order to explain his differences with Sardar Patel's political ghosts, Nehru has used such nebulous phrases as "lack of warmth" (a question of temperature); "new approach" (a question of direction); "shock treatment" (a question of therapy). The differences were hard to define because all the policies of Nehru were formally ratified, even by his opponents. Thus Nehru decided to strike against people who spoke with "two voices." Out of this confusion emerged three cardinal points of conflict:

First, Nehru's future turns on the issue of the secular state, yet it would be unfair to ascribe a communal outlook to all of his opponents. What disturbed Nehru was not their opposition to secularism but their lukewarm support of it. He wanted real warmth.

The strange irony is that Pandit Mishra, who spearheads a "crusade" against "Nehru the dictator," describes the Indian Prime Minister as the "arch-communalist" of the country. His thesis is that a Hindu espousing parochial Moslem interests is no less a communalist than a Moslem espousing parochial Moslem interests. According to Mishra, Nehru represents communalism in reverse.

Second, Nehru's future turns on "controls," or on the larger issue of a "planned economy." The Rightists, who are powerfully backed by moneyed classes, regard controls as the source of all the evils in India. Several parties have proclaimed a war against controls.

Third, Nehru will stand or fall on the principle of "dynamic neutrality" in foreign relations. Mishra, as soon as he went out of the Congress, described Nehru as

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"a secret Communist agent," thus implying that his own group, part of which still opportunistically clings to the Congress, believes in a pro-West orientation of India's foreign policy. On this point Nehru is opposed by the Socialists also, not because they love America more but because they hate Russia more.

A desire to clarify these political issues was at the back of Nehru's mind when he "shocked" his party into accepting him as its President. Persons close to India's Prime Minister whisper of an additional motive. Reports have been pouring in from our embassies abroad that foreign countries are getting the impression that Nehru is losing his grip over his party, and thus over his country. Foreign chancelleries have begun to make a distinction between Nehru's hobbyhorses and India's mood. Nehru wants to prove, now as well as in the coming elections, that he is still the old master.

In a way, the startling change amalgamates the office of the leader of the party with the office of the leader of the parliamentary party; the Prime Minister becomes the party President also. Those who favored this combine charged that "two centers of power" had created a hiatus. Those who opposed such a consolidation of power, as Mishra did, argued that it indicated a drift in the direction of "dictatorship." They brought out the parallel with Pakistan, where Liaquat Ali Khan is the Prime Minister as well as the President of the Moslem League, the overwhelming governing party.

The *Statesman* commented on Nehru's assumption of dual authority: "Political pre-eminence, monopoly of power and a unique hold on popular affections are a dangerous combination." When confronted with similarly reasoned questions at a recent press conference, Nehru replied: "I haven't the stuff that dictators are made of." Even the blasé journalists were prepared to believe him.

WHY WE LACK ALUMINUM

by Richard M. Cooperman

CHARLES E. WILSON'S new warning to defense producers has dramatized a major weakness in our mobilization program—the shortage of aluminum. The 1.5 million tons of capacity permitted by the aluminum monopoly is proving altogether insufficient to meet our needs. The million-ton expansion program laid out by the government is faltering.

One reason is the power failure in the Pacific Northwest. Dry weather conditions that may prevail until the fall of 1953 in the Columbia River Valley in Washington and Oregon threaten the Northwest with almost immediate reduction in the supply of hydroelectric power, vital to aluminum production. Dry weather is the immediate cause for the power shortage; the underlying reason is the blindness of private-utility companies in the Northwest which have blocked federal projects needed to maintain adequate power supplies.

Almost 45 percent of the nation's aluminum is produced in the Pacific Northwest. New plants were scheduled to go there as part of the expansion program. Even if these plants are now dispersed as Wilson has directed, the nationwide power shortage may compel rationing among industrial users and cause a loss of more than 200,000 tons of aluminum annually. This setback, coupled with the slow-moving expansion program, may force our government again to subsidize American-controlled aluminum interests in Canada as we did in World War II, thus strengthening the domination of the industry by the Aluminum Company of America and placing our defense program at its mercy.

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From the time aluminum was first commercially manufactured in 1886 until the end of World War II, Alcoa was the only producer of aluminum from bauxite ore to fabricated products in the United States. As the only US producer of raw aluminum, it has forced 17,000 "independent" aluminum fabricators to live parasitic existences, tied to Alcoa's price and distribution system.

There are approximately 14,000 shareholders in Alcoa. But control of more than 50 percent of the company's stock is in the hands of 11 stockholders: Arthur V. and Edward K. Davis, Roy A. Hunt, Doris Duke and the Duke Endowment and six members of the Mellon family. The same 11 own 44.65 percent of Aluminum Limited of Canada. Known as "Limited," that company was organized in 1928 by Edward K. Davis to take over Alcoa's holdings outside the US.

For 15 years the Anti-Trust Division has tried to break Alcoa's grip on aluminum. As the result of its prosecution, Alcoa was found guilty in 1945 of monopolizing the aluminum ingot market and practicing an unlawful price squeeze against the independent aluminum sheet manufacturers. At the same time, Limited was found guilty of entering into an international cartel to prevent aluminum imports into the US.

This decision, handed down by Judge Learned Hand in 1945 when Alcoa was producing wartime aluminum from government-owned plants, opened the way for the entry of the Reynolds Metal Company and the Kaiser

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Aluminum and Chemical Corporation into the industry through postwar purchase of government-owned plants, declared surplus property after Alcoa ceased operating them. Reynolds and Kaiser increased US aluminum output, but their coming left the giant undisturbed. Alcoa still monopolizes the aluminum pig and ingot market so far as the 17,000 fabricators are concerned. From 1946 to 1949, Reynolds provided only an average of 5.6 percent and Kaiser an average of only 2.8 percent of all the primary aluminum sold to the 17,000 independents by the Big Three. Alcoa is still the price leader in the aluminum pig market at 18.5 cents per pound.

Faced with the continuing monopoly conditions in aluminum, although the academician would term it oligopoly, the Anti-Trust Division sought again to have the courts inject new competition into the industry. In 1950 it succeeded in getting a decision directing individuals owning important shares of stock in both Alcoa and Limited to sell their holdings in one company or another. This ruling was intended to free Limited from control of Alcoa and bring the former into the US market as the fourth independent integrated producer and strong competition for Alcoa, particularly for the business of the 17,000 fabricators. However, the Anti-Trust Division feels that legal and economic complexities will hamper execution of the divestiture order. It doubts that Limited will enter the US market to challenge Alcoa.

A glance at the first column of the accompanying table shows the production capacities of the Big Three, as Alcoa, Reynolds and Kaiser are known, in June, 1950. These figures present a picture of the structure and output of the aluminum industry at the outbreak of the Korean War. At that moment we had no government stockpile. Most of the federal aluminum reserve, 375 million pounds, had been sold to the Big Three at a loss to the government of $18.5 million during 1946-48 to tide them over a period of short supply. As in 1941, we were caught without aluminum and without a plan for expansion.

Three months after we entered Korea, Stuart Symington, then chairman of the National Security Resources Board finally called aluminum producers and government officials together and asked for plans for a million-ton expansion program. The producers suggested a two-phase program, each part to add 500,000 tons to our capacity to produce aluminum.

Almost immediately the program ran afoul of the snags and delays of government administrative procedure, as six agencies wrestled the problem of getting more aluminum for the country's voracious military program and the civilian economy. A House investigating committee reported that the aluminum program was "progressing slowly over a labyrinthian obstacle course," and that "most of the government agencies involved . . . are bogged down in confusion, inadequate procedures, diffuse authority and insufficient leadership."

US ALUMINUM: PRESENT AND FUTURE [1]

	Capacity	*Increased Capacity*	
	June, 1950	First Half	Second Half
Alcoa	740,000 [2]	240,000	170,000
Reynolds	450,000	200,000	40,000
Kaiser	340,000	100,000	100,000
Harvey			56,000

1 Table shows capacities of the three primary US producers at mid-point last year and approximate goals set for the initial and final stages of the expansion program, including the addition of a new producer, Harvey.

2 Figures are in tons.

To lessen the administrative congestion, President Truman hopefully resorted to an old Rooseveltian trick. On top of the fumbling Defense Minerals Agency and the General Services Administration, he erected a new Defense Materials Procurement Agency. The new organization was handed the job of getting vitally needed materials—like aluminum—by any methods, including expanding the facilities of private industry. Even so, until now only 50,000 additional new tons by Reynolds have actually been brought in.

Meanwhile, up in Canada, the Limited-controlled company, Alcan, unimpeded by the profusion of government agencies and orders hampering American concerns and with abundant hydroelectric-power sources, made plans to produce aluminum in a proposed British Columbia project. This project foresees the construction of the world's largest alumina and aluminum plants in Canada's Northwest wilderness, 400 miles above Vancouver. Sen. James Murray reported to a House committee that Canadian officials were asking the US Government to purchase $160 million worth of aluminum, not deliverable until at least 1953 or 1954, to "sweeten the deal sufficiently to enable the Canadian corporation to go ahead with further plans for financing this huge project." To government officials and independent producers, "Kitimat," named for the proposed site, seemed to repeat the pattern of Shipshaw, the project built in the last war by the Canadian monopoly on the basis of a $68.5 million advance on a purchase order from the US.

The creation of this Canadian capacity made Alcan the largest and most powerful aluminum producer in the world, enabling it to produce and sell aluminum pig at 14½ cents per pound, the lowest price in the world. The building of Shipshaw served no long-range purpose for the US. Alcan even continued to ship aluminum to Poland and Czechoslovakia when the US was vainly seeking to obtain 40,000 tons for quick delivery.

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Attorney General, partially explained the co-operation of the American and Canadian monopolies to a House committee: "If you own stock in two large corporations, one Alcoa and one Limited, your principal interest is that your dividends come from one or the other. . . . I suppose stockholders owning stock in both companies would just as willingly have Limited expand as Alcoa, as far as their dividends are concerned." To this, Representative Celler has added: "Tear away the corporate veil which shrouds Aluminum Limited, and you will find strictly an American creation. . . . under the ægis of American interests."

American officials hastened to turn their backs on the new Alcan project. Secretary of the Interior, Oscar Chapman, recommended in a letter to Mobilization Chief Wilson that expansion of home industry come first. On May 7, he went one step further, saying that there would be no further expansion of Big Three facilities until a new producer was certified. Pressure for more aluminum forced Chapman to back off a little from his promise, but he clung to his intention to see more competition in aluminum.

To break into the aluminum industry is a hard job, however, as shown by the problems of two companies, the Apex Smelting Company and the Harvey Machine Company.

Apex is a secondary producer, manufacturing aluminum alloys into non-fabricated forms from scrap aluminum. Its customers are some of the 17,000 fabricators who compete with Big Three fabricating operations. Apex, to insure itself and its fabricator customers permanent supplies of aluminum, determined to become the first non-integrated primary producer. It would do no fabricating or manufacturing of aluminum products but would execute only the first three steps of aluminum production, turning out pig and ingot to sell to independent fabricators. With this plan, the company was assigned a 56,000-ton quota for the first-phase program. The proposed contract between Apex and the government required the company to sell aluminum ingot and pig to the government stockpile at no less than Big Three prices, currently 18 cents per pound, two cents per pound below Apex's expected production cost.

Inability to equal Big Three prices was no reflection on the capabilities of Apex or its officers. For one thing, costs of constructing new facilities for a firm entering the field today are many times higher than the equivalent costs to Kaiser and Reynolds were in 1945, to say nothing of the costs to Alcoa, in business since 1888. Secondly, a great deal of money is required to establish and operate bauxite mines, build an alumina plant, buy power and operate a reduction plant. Most of the money must be borrowed, and this costs money in the form of interest. Apex planned to borrow $75 million for its project from private sources. Such a sum cannot be borrowed from the banks without a 100-percent guarantee from the government. Interest rates Apex would have to pay the government for its guarantee and the lenders for their money totaled 5 percent. The company determined it just could not exist with five-percent interest payments figured into its cost structure if it had to sell aluminum to the government at 18 cents. Reynolds and Kaiser don't face the same high cost of borrowed money for their expansions. By putting up as security the surplus property plants they got so cheaply from the government after World War II, they are able to get long-term loans for 3.5 percent.

Apex appealed to government officials for a reduction in interest for the government-loan guarantee or upward revision of the government's price. The company found precedent for the latter point in the government's arrangement with Alcoa to pay more than 18 cents per pound to make up for the high cost of private-utility power at its New York and North Carolina plants. No agreement was reached. Apex dropped out of the expansion plan and gave up its attempt to crack the aluminum industry as a primary producer. Fifty-six thousand additional tons of aluminum capacity were lost. The Apex case is a simple testimony to the effect of monopoly and the inability of government to cope with monopoly at a more basic level than that at which the Sherman Anti-Trust Law attempts to deal with the problem.

The Harvey Machine Company, one of the country's largest extruders of aluminum, was faced with some of the same obstacles that tripped Apex. In long months of negotiation with government agencies, the operation Harvey proposed to set up at Kallispel, Mont., was reduced by one-fourth of its capacity before it got out of the paper stage. It looked as though Harvey would go the way of Apex; the negotiations were completely deadlocked by June, 1951. But Harvey had a firm contract with the Bonneville Power Authority to supply cheap power from Hungry Horse Dam, and he was determined to reach an agreement with the government.

Harvey agreed to put up equity capital of $3.5 million in cash, equipment, land and engineering and another $3.5 million to be raised by the sale of stock to 15,000 independent fabricators who would share in the new company's ingot production in proportion to the percentage of capital stock they held. On this basis, Secretary of the Interior, Oscar Chapman, recommended a government loan of $46 million.

Harvey's prospect of becoming the fourth independent, integrated producer in the aluminum industry faded

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HAROLD L. ICKES: *Juggling Judgeships*

THE POWER to veto is the power to legislate, although in reverse. Also the power of the Senate to defeat a Presidential nomination is, in effect, the power to nominate, or at least prevent the President from nominating. I have in mind past controversies between former President Roosevelt and Senators Carter Glass and Harry Byrd of Virginia, and more recent ones between Senator Gillette of Iowa and Senator Douglas of Illinois, on the one hand, and President Truman on the other.

Senator Glass had a candidate for US District Court Judge in his state, but President Roosevelt also had one. As to an Iowa vacancy, both Senator Gillette and President Truman had candidates. In Illinois there were three vacancies to fill. There was agreement on Joseph Samuel Perry, but both Senator Douglas and the President had candidates of their own for the other two appointments. As a matter of fact, Perry was really the choice of former Sen. Scott W. Lucas who, for months preceding his defeat for re-election, had, improperly, gone from district court to district court in Illinois in quest of such business as the US Democratic judges might be willing to funnel into his three or four law offices strategically located in the state. Since his defeat in the 1950 election, Mr. Lucas has also opened a big office in Washington.

In all of the cases cited, with the exception of that of Judge Perry, the incumbent President sent in his own nominations. In every instance the President's nominee was blocked. I was not present at any meeting of the Judiciary Committee when adverse action was taken, but it goes without saying that tears welled up in the eyes of that super-patriot, Pat McCarran, the chairman, when "Senatorial courtesy," to say nothing of "principle," collided with his loyalty to President Truman, the leader of his party. Although it undoubtedly hurt him more than it did the President, it is true that the waters overflowing from McCarran's weeping eyes helped to wash the President's nominations down the drain.

All that a Democratic Senator has to do to defeat a Presidential nomination relating to his state is to declare that the nominee is "personally obnoxious" to him. Senator Glass, his colleague, Senator Byrd, and Messrs. Gillette and Douglas have all used this technique with complete success. Their way was made all the easier by virtue of the fact that the unctuous McCarran, of Nevada and Spain, purely by right of seniority is chairman of the Judiciary Committee which passes upon nominations for judgeships. However, the question might well be asked whether a lone Senator has the right to block a Presidential nominee by the recital of a formula that means nothing except that the objector has someone whom he prefers for the job and is, therefore, willing to reduce Article II, Section 2, Paragraph 2, of the Constitution to the status of a scrap of paper. It is suggested that the Senate, as soon as may be, might well consider judiciously what the founding fathers really meant when they gave the President power to make certain appointments "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate."

A rule of reason might be agreed upon on some occasion when there is not a heated argument over a pending nomination. On the one hand, it might be argued that the intention of the writers of the Constitution was that the Senate should act merely as a policeman to see to it that no one should get by as a Presidential nominee who is not qualified by education, experience and character for the office for which he has been nominated. On the other hand, it might be said that no one Senator should be able to defeat a Presidential nominee on the ground that he is "personally obnoxious" to one Senator. There would seem to be an inconsistency in professing a high personal regard for a Presidential nominee while insisting upon his political obnoxiousness. The Senate owes it to itself to inquire searchingly as to whether, under the "personally obnoxious" precedent, it is not encroaching upon the constitutional powers of the President to appoint, just as it wantonly violates the Constitution in attaching legislative riders to appropriation bills.

The power given to the President by the Constitution to make certain appointments is subverted if one Senator out of 96 can veto a Presidential appointment. Presidential nominations, except in unusual instances, should be upheld. Certainly no good can accrue to the country from stretching too far the doubtful theory of the right of one Senator to block a nomination. Power always tempts to an aggrandizement of itself. Unfortunately, Senatorial as well as Presidential powers can be abused. I have known Senators to offer unfit persons for appointment. More than once the Senate has approved unfit nominees, even for judgeships. It would be a real gain for the US if the President and the Senate should co-operate to improve the federal judicial personnel which has become unattractively spotty as the number of judges has been increased and as death and resignation have provided more than average vacancies. HAROLD L. ICKES

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC POLICY IN THE USSR

WHO IS THE ENEMY?

by Joseph Barnes

THE MOST NOTABLE feature of this new book about Russia is its common sense. It is an underwritten, coolly argued appeal to reason on a subject about which many men feel passionately. Edward Crankshaw is an Englishman who has lived in Russia and knows her language and her history (he was last in Moscow in the summer of 1947). His estimate of Soviet strength and weakness is a major contribution to the two-way lend-lease in ideas without which no Atlantic alliance can hope to mobilize its full potential strength.

CRACKS IN THE KREMLIN WALL, by Edward Crankshaw (Viking; $3.50).

The book's main purpose is "to suggest that the enemy, while far from having feet of clay, is not so formidable as he looks, seen looming through the mists of half the world." Crankshaw cuts away a large part of these mists by a careful definition of who the enemy is. It is not Russia, he concludes, and not even Communism, but "the group of Russians who form the government of the Soviet Union." If we can take steps which will widen the already growing splits between these Bolshevik leaders and the Russian people, as well as between them and various groups of conscious or unconscious allies abroad, we shall have reduced our danger to proportions which need not frighten us.

These Bolshevik leaders are described as "pedantic thugs" who took over power in Russia in 1917 and kept the assets and the liabilities of both imperial Russia and the German philosophy of history which they call Marxism. Most of the book is a careful, detailed analysis of the cost accounting of this dual heritage on which Lenin and Stalin have based Soviet policy for a generation. The author is convinced that there is no master plan behind this policy, but rather a shrewd, immoral and opportunistic calculation of risk in which our own Western lack of self-confidence and of knowledge of the Soviets has given the Bolsheviks an unnecessary and costly advantage.

The present regime in Russia has an organic connection with the Russian people, the author believes; it is a Russian response to a Russian situation. So it continues the "almost sleepwalking habit of expansion" which has marked Russian history for two centuries. But "in face of organized resistance the Russians have always stopped." The European Recovery Program and American rearmament, both brought about by Soviet stupidity and not by Soviet design, constitute such organized resistance in Europe, and Crankshaw does not abandon, although he qualifies, the prediction he made in 1947 that Stalin's long-term aim may prove to be the preparation of the Russian people for a disengaging action, "a concealed withdrawal, a retreat without loss of face."

One of the most important chapters in this book is an analysis of Stalin's recent pronouncements on philology and the late Professor N. Y. Marr. This fantastic little episode in Marxist dialectics is described here more fully and convincingly than anywhere else in English. The author sees it as an indication that Stalin has now thrown Marx and Marxism to the Russian wolves. His analysis of Soviet policy in Germany, in the Eastern European satellites, and in Tito's Yugoslavia reaches the same conclusion, tempered only by the very large degree of sheer ineptitude which he finds in what Molotov has done for Stalin in the field of foreign policy. The author sees Russia and China as "allies of convenience"; sooner or later, "Stalin will be forced either to disrupt the Chinese Communist Party, preferably

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AIDE MEMOIRE

by Barrington Moore Jr.

IT HAS BEEN SAID that no human activity leaves so many records as diplomacy and in no other case are the records so unenlightening. To the extent that this is true, formidable difficulties face any compiler who attempts, as does the author of the book under review, to collect enough documents on Soviet policy "to indicate its main preoccupations and to illustrate its aims and diplomatic techniques." In the case of many other powers the surviving and publicly available literature of the times reveals the cross pressures behind diplomatic decisions, and that considerably eases the task of interpretation. In the Soviet case, however, only a comparatively small fraction of this material is available, even for the early period with which this volume, the first of three, is concerned. For various reasons, moreover, Miss Degras has eliminated a great deal of what would have been enlightening. Only a few fragments are extracted from the bulky, often illuminating writings of the Communist Party and the Communist International; no editorials from the Soviet press are included. What remains is, for the most part, a collection of formal diplomatic notes, frequently on rather trivial matters.

SOVIET DOCUMENTS ON FOREIGN POLICY. Selected and edited by Jane Degras. Volume I: 1917-1924. Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs (Oxford University Press; $7).

From such material no one could be expected to piece together the main outlines of Soviet foreign policy. Unaided by interpretive notes, the ordinary reader could never disentangle significant events from the mass of routine material, or grasp their importance. In other words, this is a book for the

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specialist and student, not, as the preface might indicate, for the general reader eager to get a first-hand impression of the formative period of Soviet foreign policy. It is a research tool to be used in connection with numerous other tools, including, perhaps first of all, Miss Degras' valuable *Calendar of Soviet Documents on Foreign Policy: 1917-1941* (Royal Institute of International Affairs, Oxford University Press, 1948), which directs the student to the type of material omitted from the present compilation.

In general, the image Miss Degras evokes is the formal posture of the Soviet Union in world affairs, with the make-up and stage disguises carefully set upon the actors' frames. It is one that underwent rapid and significant modifications during the period covered by this volume. Then, as well as now, the task of the foreign diplomat and the scholar has been to penetrate the disguises as best he could and to estimate from the formal *tableau* what was taking place behind the scenes. I repeat my regrets that Miss Degras did not see fit to include more of such revealing fragments as, for example, the published records of the discussions among the top Bolshevik leaders at Brest-Litovsk, or some of the memoir material about the chaotic first days of the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, when the bored guards amused themselves with machine-gun target practice in the corridors. Yet even in the stiffly worded notes and flamboyant proclamations offered here one can discern at times a few of the central preoccupations of the Bolshevik leaders and the varying techniques with which they chose to deal with them.

Lenin and his associates came to power with the notion that their coup would ignite a supposedly revolutionary tinderbox in the more industrially advanced countries of Western Europe. The subsequent history of Soviet foreign policy is one of attempts to realize these hopes and to adapt to their disappointment. In this collection one finds Lenin's reaction to Brest-Litovsk in his reference to the international world revolution as a "very pretty fairy tale" for the time being, and his sarcastic remark: "If you cannot bring yourself to crawl on your belly in the mud, you are no revolutionary, but a chatterbox."

One also finds the decree of the Council of People's Commissars, appropriating two million rubles for the international revolutionary movement, issued more than a year before the formation of the Comintern. Recorded here are Trotsky's and Chicherin's efforts to stave off intervention and to set Allied and German interests against each other. Though one misses any adequate documentation of the abortive, Politburo-run, German revolution of 1923, there is an interesting statement on the situation by Trotsky to the Manchester *Guardian* that now appears to be a blatant effort to throw dust in Western eyes. Many other nuggets and several documents of central importance, not easily found elsewhere, are in this collection. And even though the author's professed objective is apparently not being carried out in these volumes, she is creating a useful research tool. As a convenient reference work supplementing other collections, the series will be invaluable to every student of the history of Soviet foreign policy.

BARRINGTON MOORE JR.

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from within, or else to stand by apprehensively and watch the new China develop along her own lines."

Crankshaw believes there will be no major war with Russia in this generation if we maintain our armaments. He wishes that we were able to accept the cost of arming without lashing ourselves into a hysteria of fear and hatred, which serves only the interests of the enemy. He has blunt things to say about the ex-Communists who "seek to plunge the world into a militant crusade, for one reason alone: to recover their own lost faith." The only way he sees in which the cracked Kremlin wall might still surround us is by so frightening us that "for fear of the enemy within we transform our own society imperceptibly into an apparatus of totalitarianism indistinguishable in essence from the society of Soviet Russia."

Joseph Barnes was Moscow correspondent and foreign editor of the New York Herald Tribune, and editor of the New York Star.

THE FAULKNER PATTERN

LIE DOWN IN DARKNESS, by William Styron (Bobbs-Merrill; $3.50).

LIE DOWN IN DARKNESS is a novel built around a private funeral. Young Peyton Loftis, daughter of a Virginia family connected with the Byrds, has gone to New York, married a Jewish artist, left him for other men and then committed suicide; now her body is back in Newport News. Only two cars follow the hearse. In the first are her desperately grieving father, her father's silly mistress and an old Negro servant; in the second are her half-crazy mother and the Episcopalian rector. The trip to the cemetery, on an intolerably hot late-August afternoon, is delayed by several accidents, and meanwhile the characters take turns remembering all the events that led to Peyton's death. Peyton remembers, too, by novelistic license; and the most impressive passage in a long, confused and often powerful book is her stream of consciousness during the six hours before she took off her clothes and jumped from the window of a loft building in Harlem.

The structure of the novel seems daring at first, then teasingly familiar; soon one remembers that *As I Lay Dying* was also a novel about a funeral, with the story told in a series of interior monologues by different members of the family, including the woman who had died. With this clue one examines the novel more closely and finds that it is as full of reminiscences as if it had dealt with Yoknapatawpha County instead of tidewater Virginia. Many of the new writers have been learning their craft from William Faulkner; that is among the leading tendencies of the day; but I can't think of any other novel that applies the lessons so faithfully or, for that matter, with so much natural authority and talent.

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Take for example Styron's approach to the story. Instead of starting with a first event and making other events follow it in temporal order until we reach the final tragedy, as if at the end of a journey, he starts with an already tragic situation and keeps moving around it in narrowing circles; the story ends when we have grasped the situation in all its inner causes and consequences. That is still a new approach to the novel, but it was newer in 1929, when Faulkner published *The Sound and the Fury*; there his method was so completely circular that we couldn't understand the first section of the book until we had read the fourth and last.

Not only has Styron followed the method but he has also remembered most of the characters in Faulkner's novel. *The Sound and the Fury* had for its subject the decline of a Southern family. The father, Jason Compson III, was a scholar, a gentleman and a drunken lawyer; the mother was selfish and hysterical; the daughter, Candace, felt herself to be doomed and accepted a career of high-class prostitution. There were three sons: the oldest, Quentin, committed suicide in the North after his sister's wedding; the second, Jason IV, became a mean-spirited businessman; and the youngest, Benjy, was an idiot. At the end of the book the family was mourned only by an old religious Negro servant, who said of them, "I seed de first en de last."

It wouldn't be fair to say that Styron copied this family. I would guess that his characters were partly created, partly observed, like most characters in fiction, and that the germ of the story was some event that touched him closely. It is interesting to note, however, that most of the characters end by following the Compson pattern. The father, Milton Loftis, is a witty and drunken lawyer; the mother is selfish and hysterical; one of the daughters is an idiot; and their epitaph is spoken by an old religious Negro servant. There is no one who corresponds to Jason IV, but Peyton Loftis, the heroine, combines the promiscuity of Candace Compson with Quentin's will to suicide. She is, however, a convincing figure in herself and she tries to speak for others of her age. "They thought they had had it," Peyton says. "Those people back in the Lost Generation. Daddy, I guess. Anybody who thought about anything at all. They thought they were lost. They were crazy. They weren't lost. What they were doing was losing us."

It is a general rule that novels which stay close to their literary models have no great value of their own, but *Lie Down in Darkness* is an exception; in this case the example of Faulkner seems to have had a liberating effect on Styron's imagination. One might even say that his book is best and most personal when it is most Faulknerian. Peyton's wanderings on the day of her suicide are much like those of Quentin Compson on his last day and some of the symbols are the same: for example, Quentin carries an old-fashioned watch and broods about it, while Peyton carries an alarm clock. Yet Styron gets inside her character, makes her more understandable and pitiable than Quentin, and it seems to me that this one passage, at least, is better than its model. MALCOLM COWLEY

MAN OF DISTINCTION

LIBERTIES OF THE MIND, by Charles Morgan (Macmillan; $2.75).

WHEN THE Japanese Thought Police were imprisoning their countrymen for thinking improperly, or simply for thinking, their behavior was viewed by Westerners as a rather ludicrous manifestation of the Oriental mentality—like the fear of losing face. Since then, this peculiar mentality has spread faster than the Japanese beetle. Behind the Iron Curtain it is in complete sway. It has become, in fact if not in theory, a serious menace in our own country, where citizens may now be tried and sentenced for disloyalty by legislative committees, newspapers and even self-appointed assistants to the FBI. Liberty of action has always been drastically restricted in emergencies, but today the free mind itself is under siege.

It is this appalling condition that Charles Morgan examines in a series of essays loosely assembled under the title, *Liberties of the Mind*. One wishes the examination were more sharply focused. The author tells us in his introduction that Western scientists may soon be able to control the mind directly—that is to say, turn out zombies at will—and that Soviet Russia appears to have achieved this incalculably fateful power already. But the sense of exigent peril thereby created is hardly sustained by discourses on "The liberty to enjoy and accept," or "The liberty to mind one's own business." Many of the essays have a tenuous and, in some cases, purely nominal connection with the main theme.

They suffer too from those weaknesses which are almost professional attributes of "distinguished writers," a category to which Charles Morgan is frequently assigned: to wit, a tendency to invest the self-evident with an aura of profundity and portentousness, a fastidious reluctance to get down to brass tacks, and the substitution of soft words like "soul" and "spirit" for hard reasoning. For example, in discussing defenses against the threat to the liberty of the mind, the author says, "It is not for me to legislate." His diffidence is unfortunate, because it is precisely in the field of legislation that our keenest intelligence is required. The Western world is still in general agreement that freedom is valuable and that we must keep as much of it as possible. But how? The author does make one recommendation: the restoration to the British House of Lords of its veto powers. From this distance, at least, there would appear to be more pressing business.

Charles Morgan has many wise things to say about subjects ranging from Montesquieu to Maritain, and often he says them elegantly; he is, after all, a cultivated man. But throughout this volume one finds an almost total obliviousness of that large portion of the world's population which has never enjoyed the author's cerebral liberties, or, for that matter, most of the other benefits of the civilization which made them possible. The author might reply that he is not addressing himself to those unfortunates, but isn't it possible that our success in maintaining our own liberties of the mind may depend upon our success in universalizing them?

DAVID GOLDKNOPF

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MOVIES: Old Hit, New Venture

WHEN A PLAY as successful, as esteemed, as beribboned with special awards as Tennessee Williams' *A Streetcar Named Desire* finally arrives on the screen, its intellectual and artistic metal has been so thoroughly assayed that the movie reviewer is not expected to proceed farther along those lines. It is enough if he comments on the faithfulness of the adaptation, compares the dramatic merits of the two productions and informs the mass market that it may now sample what had the New York audience by the ears in an earlier season. This restriction of function may be frustrating, but in the present instance I am glad of it. The theatrical merits of *Streetcar* are so obvious and its dramatic defects, if not subtle, would take so many words to make entirely clear, that I willingly forego the demonstration this late in the day. Very briefly, it seems to me that Williams' great powers of observation are not matched by equivalent insights; that what happens to his characters is insufficiently reflected in what they do as a consequence; that, although the play abounds in lines which are not only striking but acute, they do not combine into a clear statement, message, point of view or philosophy; that, therefore, and despite its evident claim to be taken seriously, *Streetcar* is less a tragedy than a depressant.

As a movie translation of a great Broadway hit, *Streetcar* is entirely successful. It is directed, acted, staged and produced at a level Hollywood infrequently attains, and for these merits alone it is decidedly worth seeing. Its quality is less surprising than gratifying: Elia Kazan directed on the screen as on the stage and the principals, except for Vivien Leigh in the Blanche duBois role that made Jessica Tandy famous, are the same. Charles K. Feldman, the producer, deserves credit for giving his visitors every technical assistance that Hollywood can provide.

Streetcar, as perhaps everyone knows, discusses the final descent into madness of a Southern gentlewoman. She has been a belle, she has been a school teacher, she has been the town tramp; now she is the charge of her sister and her brother-in-law in a New Orleans slum. The sister is moved to pity; the husband to b r u t i s h exasperation. Blanche, a complex of pretense, hallucination, bitter self-knowledge and momentary flashes of both good sense and good promise, grasps at a straw (a callow suitor) that seems for a moment to support her. But it is snatched away and she sinks forever. She has, as she says at the end, always depended on the kindness of strangers. It fails her.

Vivien Leigh's performance of this tempting but tricky role is a masterpiece. She slips from mood to mood, from specious arrogance to honest humility, from hard sense to maddening frivolity, from sanity to insanity, with perfect command and the most deceptive ease. Whatever gaps there may be in the content of Williams' play, there are none in the content of Miss Leigh's interpretation of his heroine. I did not see Miss Tandy on the stage and therefore cannot make comparisons: the present portrayal seems to me as good as it could possibly be.

Marlon Brando also made his name in *Streetcar*. I don't really believe in the part he plays, but it is a pleasure to watch him do it. Stanley Kowalski is not so much a primitive throwback as a Neanderthal genius thrust eons into the future. If he speaks as though language had just been discovered, it is clear that he was the discoverer; if he smashes his pregnant mate into a corner of the cave, he is nevertheless the first primate to discern the sentiment of affection behind the instinct to reproduce. Cavemen have long been a cliché in fiction; this dawn man in the moment of mutation is a more interesting conceit and I admire the invention even though I don't entirely trust it.

Kim Hunter, as the sister torn by her understanding of and pity for Blanche and her affection and passion for Stanley, is pushed a little out of the light by the Leigh-Brando pyrotechnics; she is nevertheless both beautiful and admirably specific in the larger murkiness around her. Karl Malden as the timid gentleman caller succeeds in his difficult assignment of investing fecklessness with dignity. The New Orleans set is squalid without being grotesque, the pace of the picture is fast without being hurried, scene after scene is striking without becoming self-conscious. Screen translations from the more inventive arts can be no better than this.

That well-known public servant, the thoughtful observer, has proved so often and so conclusively that movies must be made by factory methods that the current activities of one Hugo Haas should seem as futile as a new search for the Fountain of Youth. Yet Mr. Haas, who finances his own productions, directs them, stars in them and edits them for the screen, has one successful picture playing in New York and two more

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completed and ready for release. The ghost of Griffith must be smiling its approval.

Haas is a middle-aged Czech actor-director who has been appearing in small stage and screen parts since he arrived here about ten years ago. The work fed him; it apparently also fed him up, for he has now challenged American picture methods and is working entirely on European lines. His first picture, *Pickup*, is playing art theatres at present, but it could attract a larger audience, and the fact that it is distributed by Columbia and that its successor has been bought by Twentieth Century-Fox suggests that the Hollywood bankers have been impressed.

Pickup is what we are accustomed to calling a "foreign" picture, by which is meant that its story is the simplest—and most universal—sort of fable, that its cast is small and made up of unknown actors, and that the sets are as few and as economically bare as the plot will allow. Haas plays a lonely railroad switchman, living in a shack far down the tracks. By mischance, he runs into a sleazy little golddigger (Beverly Michaels) who marries him for his bank book and plots with a good-willed but pliant admirer (Allan Nixon) to kill him when he balks at turning it over. This is not a particularly original idea (see *Double Indemnity* among others), and Miss Michaels and Nixon are a little stiff and blatant in their hungry roles. But Haas turns in a study of the simple good man traduced that instantly recalls the best work of Emil Jannings, and his stripped-down examination of good and evil at grips is emotionally more persuasive, if technically less polished, than 90 percent of what you can see today on the screen. In less experienced hands, *Pickup* could have become a "special" picture, praised for its honest intentions, pitied for its amateur failure to challenge the commercial product. Haas's honest intentions have produced an honest success and if, as I am told is his plan, he builds a small permanent company around him, he may well become one of the most important influences in contemporary pictures. Nothing I can think of would be more useful. ROBERT HATCH

MUSIC

Ballet, New Records

SHORTLY BEFORE the New York City Ballet turned over the City Center to the opera company for the rest of the fall, Ballet Theatre began a three-week stint at the Metropolitan Opera House, and for four days New Yorkers had an opportunity to compare the two companies in concurrent performances.

Polished and persuasive though the New York City Ballet has become, the arrival of Ballet Theatre was like a breath of fresh air, even on a September summer night in the non-air-conditioned Metropolitan. The Balanchine-directed New York City Ballet, for all the recent extension of its scope with such highly theatrical pieces as *The Cage* and *The Miraculous Mandarin*, represents only a special section of the ballet art. Aristocracy of style and perfection of form interest Balanchine more than story-telling and dramatic action; a precise and mannerly corps de ballet delights him more than a striking stage spectacle. The New York City Ballet never flirts with vulgarity or garishness, but it does sometimes border on preciousness.

The original conception of Ballet Theatre, twelve years ago, was far more eclectic. Because no single strong artistic personality has been in command, its repertory and its performances have always been uneven. But the company has kept its horizon wide, and its best achievements have ranged from carefully conceived romantic revivals like *Giselle* and *Princess Aurora* to such telling dance-dramas as Tudor's *Pillar of Fire* and Loring's *Billy the Kid*.

Things have not gone very well within the Ballet Theatre organization for the last two or three years, and the company is by no means as fine as it used to be. Many of its former leading dancers—Nora Kaye, Hugh Laing, Diana Adams and Melissa Hayden among them—have transferred their allegiance to the New York City Ballet. The secondary parts are now poorly handled, and the corps de ballet, compared to Balanchine's, is callow and underdisciplined. But on opening night Alicia Alonso and Igor Youskevitch were on hand to dance the century-old *Giselle* with a warmth and credibility no other duo in the world attains in this exacting work; and Jean Babilée and Nathalie Philippart, guests of the company for the season, gave in *Le Jeune Homme et la Mort* an example of forthright, extroverted French theatre dance that only Roland Petit's *Carmen* has equaled in recent years.

It seems incredible that no complete recording of George Gershwin's *Porgy and Bess* has been made before now. The citizens of Catfish Row are known to millions of Americans, thousands of whom flock to outdoor concerts every summer to hear excerpts from the opera. Until Gian-Carlo Menotti's *The Consul* came along, *Porgy and Bess* was the only American opera ever to win success abroad; the Danish State Opera, for instance, has kept it in the repertory every year but one in the past decade.

Well, anyway, here it is now, superlatively recorded on three long-playing discs that represent a labor of love on the part of everyone at Columbia Records from Goddard Lieberson, who produced it, and Lehman Engel, who con-

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ducted it, to the least of the singers in the big cast. The set is superlative in its naturalness of reproduction and in the skill with which stage sounds have been included to enhance the dramatic effect. Supplied with a hand-picked orchestra (there are seven concertmasters among the first violins), Engel conducts the score about as well as anyone could, with an infallible sense of pace and a ready touch of sentiment. Lawrence Winters and Camilla Williams of the New York City Opera Company sing the title roles ably, though they have not gone as deep into their parts as did Todd Duncan and Anne Brown in the original production. Many of the other singers are veterans either of that production in 1935 or of Cheryl Crawford's superb revival in 1942.

The opera itself, it seems to me, is beginning to give a bit at the seams. The familiar songs—*Summer Time*, *I've Got Plenty o' Nuttin*, and the rest —stand up remarkably well, but some of the music in the interstices between arias consists largely of clichés and often sounds downright amateurish. Over all, however, *Porgy and Bess* is still moving, and the choral episodes themselves justify an outlay of $14.85.

The Metropolitan Opera is doing poorly by itself in its recent Columbia releases. In *Faust*, of which I have already spoken, and in Leoncavallo's *Pagliacci*, the newest offering from Thirty-ninth Street, the recording technique is as magnificent as that of *Porgy and Bess*. But the casts are mediocre and the results unconvincing.

The deluge of full-length opera recordings continues unabated. Cetra-Soria has issued Verdi's early *La Battaglia di Legnano*, an inconsistent piece with moments of high imagination and dramatic power, and Mozart's *The Marriage of Figaro*, with a capable Italian cast, headed by Italo Tajo, which will displease only those who prefer to have their Mozart come from Vienna. (Columbia promises to bring out a Viennese *Figaro* in the next few weeks.) Urania has just marketed the uncut *Meistersinger*, on six long-playing discs, for $34.90; I have not had time to get through it yet. CECIL SMITH

(Continued from page 16)

when adverse newspaper publicity over a long-closed investigation of Harvey operations during World War II led government agencies to order a hold-up on contracts with the company pending further investigation. In addition, the power shortage in the Northwest will undermine Harvey's promised power supplies.

In the 14 months since the outbreak of the Korean emergency, aluminum expansion has been inadequate, and no independent integrated producer has come into the field. Representative Celler, looking at this picture, concludes:

. . . I cannot put my finger on it. I am simply speaking more or less in general on the matter. The Secretary of the Interior has indicated he wants to build here as much as reasonably possible, but there may be other "gremlins," for want of another term, in this picture who are endeavoring to gum up the works and delay this situation. Then we will have no other choice but to go to Canada and do what we did during the last war.

The aluminum dearth, very much a factor in military thinking although not yet a reality to civilian consumers, has roots in what has become an American tradition of permitting emergencies to grow into serious crises without intensely thought out and purposefully executed broad programs. Failure of our power supplies and seeming inability to realize power potential from new sources; lack of allocation of structural steel to bring these power sources into operation and construct alumina and aluminum plants; failure to plan, until very recently, for really stringent cuts in civilian consumption of aluminum; failure of Congress to include a Defense Plants Corporation in the Defense Production Acts of 1950 and 1951 and failure of the Federal Reserve Board to reduce the cost of RFC loans have all contributed to the aluminum shortage. But more serious is the fact that aluminum is the first industry in which the government has tried to get expansion of facilities. The aluminum experience was supposed to provide the pattern for expansion of other critical industries. At least it has provided lessons in pitfalls that ought to be avoided.

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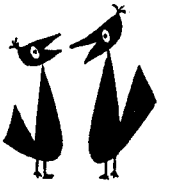

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